1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/43 cont./

241 433 462 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 462 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the categories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions 361 [321] are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at 361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season, 62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous [114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[119] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal
[567] groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards C1, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/12 cont./

286 197 [283] They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians. Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

[184] This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahẽ of Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahẽ work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 [285] 324 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȧodi) plaited out of uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[297] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621 361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.

342 [824] The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/12 cont./

342 184 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller 35 364 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually [136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place. 342 [361] In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more [184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization. [361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

• 621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.

342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side [335] with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise [824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

476 [923]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] [226] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

622 [921] [597]

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth. 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

[178] [648] [720]

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 627 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/188 cont./

36 [162] [622] Tũmănăkṹ (said to have died in September 1908), João III, Alfredo, Cyriãki-Cadete (Cyriãki moved to the mouth of the Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fõtṹnã́, IIk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days' journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakṹ. From Tumanakṹ to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[484] [622] [578]

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kõrũmãrẽ́ along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

/189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves, below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (ãũwĩ), just above São José (hõlẽnẽ́kã), just below the Rio de Peixe (ĩĩsã́), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above Leopoldina (ĩĩsãmãdṍ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near São José there are two villages: ĩĩsã́ is one and a half days' journey away; ĩĩsãmãdṍ is two and a half days' journey from ĩĩsã́. ĩĩsãmãdṍ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

36 [162] [103]

[484] [103] [484]

[621]

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/189 cont./

about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:

	North Horde	Korumare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immigrant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	~~170~~
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

624 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1) Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [571] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not announce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already repoted such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1).

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay: Rev. trim. 11(1849), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of vilages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 - 267/) The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, there were Cyriáki in Village 18, Tumanakú in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. It appears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rower also willingly obeyed the commands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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The older children are left to occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel inclined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each village considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in common, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

621 the Incas, and is met with to-day in Russia and elsewhere.
496 The hunting and fishing is participated in by all the men at the same time, and the proceeds of the day's chase are lumped together, then divided proportionately to all the families of the village; and those who have had "no luck" share equally with those who have been successful. To-day, they all go hunting at the command of their chief; to-morrow, they fish in the same way; and the next day, they all work on the village plantation. But in every case, the combined results of their efforts are divided equally according to the mouths
622 to be filled. All the doings of the village are directed by the chief. He holds in trust all the property of the local horde,
[597] and is supported by the community. Consequently, it is his duty to adopt all the orphans of the village, including the sons of warriors who fall in battle. It is not necessary, however, that he should excel in military skill. There are other qualifications that are considered more essential and of far more practical every-day value to one who would succeed as a chief. He must have sufficient experience, energy and diplomatic skill to enable him to deal harmoniously and successfully with civilized men. Therefore, a man who did not originally belong to the tribe but was adopted into it from some other, may become chief if he should excel in these particulars. He lays out all the work, plans the hunting and fishing expeditions, indicates the camping places and selects the ground to be planted. When the forest covering the land to be tilled has been cut down, allowed to dry and then burned, he stakes out the plot for each family composing the
627 village. He has also a very important duty to perform as a
627 sort of justice of the peace, and in enforcing the tribal laws. If two men quarrel, he adjusts the difference; while his wife adjusts differences between the women. He must also bring all culprits to justice, though he is not allowed to execute the sentence of the law. Custom demands that this shall be done by the wronged person. Murder and personal injury is avenged immediately, and without much ceremony, by the relatives of the victim. When the chief is informed of a rob-